# UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

*Editors*

John Haynes Holmes  Francis Neilson

## "On the Whole, I Guess. . . !"

*By* FRANK C. DOAN

## Republic Day in Berlin

*By* SYDNEY STRONG

## Outlawry of War: What It Is and Is Not

*By* JOHN DEWEY

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## *A Journal of the Religion of Democracy*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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## *Contents*

EDITORIAL—

Notes ..... 195
"On the Whole, I Guess . . .!"—FRANK C. DOAN ..... 197
Jottings.—J. H. H. ..... 199
Editorial Correspondence—
Republic Day in Berlin.—REV. SYDNEY STRONG ..... 199

ARTICLES—

In Memoriam—Robert Collyer (1823-1923)—One's Real Name.—*Robert Collyer* ..... 195
Outlawry of War: What It Is and Is Not—A Reply to Walter Lippmann by *John Dewey* 201
Genius and Illness.—HELENA LORENZ WILLIAMS ..... 205

POETRY—

The Unfulfilled.—*Hugh Robert Orr* ..... 205

CORRESPONDENCE—

A Letter from Hungary.—FREDERICK HANKINSON ..... 207

THE FIELD—

Federation News Item.—REV. CURTIS W. REESE 207
Clearing the War Hysteria Record.—EUGENE LYONS ..... 207

# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1923 NUMBER 13

## IN MEMORIAM—ROBERT COLLYER (1823-1923).

### One's Real Name.

**My real name is that they write in the books which are kept where nothing enters that maketh a lie. It is the name I EARN, be it a brand of shame, or a title to which that of princes or nobles is a mockery; and I wait for this real, this new name, until I have made my stroke or indeed until I have lived my life, as Shakespeare did, and Cromwell, and Milton, and then it is that baptism for the dead against which there is no appeal, and for which there is no legislation. We say of a man sometimes, he has MADE a name. It is the truth about every man; and it would be as easy to change the name of a nation, or shall I not say of God, as this I win when I have fairly lived my life. And it depends in no wise upon the whim or fancy of those about us. It is the signature of those above us, and touches a law like that through which iron can never be branded as silk, or round shot for wheat.**

*—Robert Collyer.*

---

Why is a magazine an excellent gift to bestow upon a friend at Christmas time? Because it expresses one's mind as well as one's heart. Because it opens a door into a world now to be enjoyed together. Because it renews itself week after week throughout the year, and thus keeps friendship ever warm. Why is UNITY a particularly excellent magazine for Christmas giving? Because it is definitely pledged to the religion of "peace on earth, goodwill to men." Because it cherishes Jesus's ideal of a society of universal brotherhood established on the earth. Because it seeks to find the way to the fulfilment of this ideal in the present world. Send in your orders *now* for a UNITY 1924 subscription for your brother, your friend, your minister, your son or daughter at college, anybody whom you love and would wisely serve!

---

Our affirmation in these columns some weeks ago that the German policy of passive resistance in the Ruhr had not been a failure, despite the surrender to the French, is gratifyingly confirmed by Oswald Garrison Villard in the *Nation*. Writing from Berlin, he states what we inferred that "the simple truth is that passive resistance in the Ruhr did not achieve its ultimate aim because, and *solely* because, the Berlin Government betrayed the cause of the German people by its mismanagement of the battle." Again, summing up the facts in the case, he says:

> I hope it will be clear . . . that passive resistance as such did *not* fail; that it carried on gloriously for eight months in the face of every possible obstacle; that it fell short of success against France because it was not honestly and efficiently supported at Berlin; and that there was nothing in this experience to prove that, given proper leadership and the adequate devotion on the part of all involved, this weapon of the spirit against force cannot again be used.

We are further gratified to note in this connection that we have also been right in all that we have been saying about the German industrialists—a pirate crew if there ever was one!

> "It was they who dictated the surrender," says Mr. Villard, "and a very hasty surrender when it got too hot for them. . . . For these conscience-less big business men, as for their brothers in business in other countries, there is but one motto: 'Where iron is, there is the fatherland.' There has never been any question in my mind that they would sell out to the French the minute they were compelled to or found it to their advantage to do so."

The German people, exactly as we said, were thus not defeated but betrayed. "Germany needed a Gandhi, and there is no German Gandhi."

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Israel Zangwill is still talking "somethin' dreadful"! We have never seen such a disrespectful man! We have also seldom seen a man who told so many truths in so blunt and fearless a fashion. For a perfect masterpiece, take these paragraphs in a recent letter in the New York *Times* on some of the alleged great men of our time:

> Consider, for example, the politicians proper who have ruined the world! In England Lloyd George and Asquith are now chanting in unison a paean to Liberalism. I am wholly in accord with them. Only I would like to see them chanting it in sackcloth and ashes. For Asquith, to egg on the millionfold slaughter of the world's youth, assured us that we could never sheathe the sword "until we had secured for Europe and the world at large their final emancipation from the reign of force." And Lloyd George, having a chance of securing that very emancipation, threw it away and delayed for many weeks to bind up the bleeding wounds of Europe so as to secure by a general election his own continuance in power; in the which campaign he became every day more and more Gottheilesque in proportion as the ignorant mob clamored more and more for impossible revenges and reparations.
>
> Nitti—the Italian signatory of the Treaty of Versailles—was even swifter and more brazen in publishing a book to denounce the very Treaty he had signed; to stigmatize it as the criminal folly every sane man now knows it to be. In France, Poincaré, invincibly right and logical in pinning his allies to the Treaty they would now fain wriggle out of, is yet from the human aspect the most monstrous figure in history. Even Smuts of South Africa, one of the few assets civilization still possesses, acquiesced in the addition of the war pension funds to the already astronomical German indemnity. Lord Robert Cecil, another of the few noble figures of our era, has just announced that though his principles are irrefragably Free Trade, he will join Baldwin's Protectionist cabinet. As for your own Wilson, though he surpassed our European politicians as much as your Presidents have surpassed our European Kings, you know his record. Elected to keep America out of the war, he became the militant Messiah of the world, and when defeated by the Machiavellian politicians of Europe, he feigned to come back a victor, waving a scrap of

paper, as though one could combine the rôles of Christ and Cæsar.

Our only objection to these sentiments pertains to what Zangwill says about Nitti. This strikes us as a little hard, for Nitti, after all, has done what no other one of these vaunted leaders has had the decency to do—namely, confess his sin and offer penitence therefor. The indictment as a whole, however, is sound. We like plain speaking of this kind, for we believe it to be as cleansing of rotten things as a dose of formaldehyde.

---

*The Christian Science Monitor*—admirable paper!—is proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, "to the end that war may be made as repellent to all classes as it is to those who must fight." This amendment, expressed in substance, is as follows:

> In the event of a declaration of war, the property, equally with the persons, lives and liberties of all citizens, shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the nation, and it shall be the duty of the President to propose, and of Congress to enact, the legislation necessary to give effect to this amendment.

From one point of view we don't like this amendment at all. We are opposed to war, and think it should be outlawed as a crime, whereas this amendment recognizes war, and lays down certain laws "in the event." Furthermore we are opposed to the whole idea of conscription for war purposes, and thus on principle opposed to conscription of property only a little less excitedly than we are opposed to conscription of life. On the other hand, we are obliged to concede that war is with us as a fact, and that a "next war" is a probable rather than an improbable circumstance. We also have to concede that "in the event" of war, conscription of life is as certain as anything can be in this world. From this realistic viewpoint as contrasted with the former idealistic viewpoint, we find much to commend in the proposal of the *Monitor*. Indeed, if war has to come, and men are to be seized and thrust into the trenches like cattle, or into prison if they rebel like men, we can think of nothing healthier than a seizure of property to match this seizure of life. If we are to have conscription at all, let the two things go together—or, better still, conscription of bank-accounts and securities *before* conscription of persons rather than *after!* This certainly is one thing which would dampen the ardor of our stay-at-home patriots. Our only question is as to whether such a provision would ever be put into effect, amendment or no amendment. Give young men to the Moloch of war? O, yes! But property, *money?* NEVER!!

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The most pointed and effective reply that we have heard in many a day to the claim of militarists that war is the purifier of a nation's blood and the source of the progress of humanity, was a remark that Lloyd George would probably return to a position of power and leadership in England because the very men who might have been his natural opponents are dead. Yes, dead on the field of battle! The remark was made in a discussion that had no connection with the alleged effectiveness of war as a promoter of human happiness, but it was none the less a most impressive reply to that contention. Lloyd George, discredited and distrusted by those who followed him loyally for years, the leader in a political campaign (1898) pitched on the lowest level of any ever conducted in the history of England, the man who was swept into office on the hysterical wave of passion deliberately stirred up by himself, the politician who promised peace if Germany would only establish a government responsible to the people and then adopted as his political slogans, "hang the Kaiser" and "the Germans must and shall pay all the cost of the war," this man is to return to power in England because the men of vision and power who would be his natural opponents are dead on the field of battle! If this prophecy should prove untrue, it in itself reveals to what an extent the flower of a nation is stricken down and cut off from its life by the curse of war. Let it be known that, if there is anything that reveals the paucity of human intellect, it is the claim that war is an improver of the breed and a purifier of the race. If the men who lie "in Flander's field" could vote, perhaps the men who see in war the salvation of the race would learn what now they seem incapable of learning—that those who "were food for powder" are not the dross of our civilization. For if war is "the great purifier," then those who die are those who ought to die for the benefit of mankind. But no advocate of war would dare put his argument in such naked form. The very stones would rise up to blast him for such infamy.

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We have from the beginning refused to take seriously the menace of the Ku Klux Klan. We felt sure that it was nothing but a "flash in the pan," so to speak—a flame that would speedily burn out for sheer lack of fuel! When the New York *World* made its early and sensational *exposé* of the movement, we were convinced that the end of the silly farce was at hand. And this conviction, be it said, sprang wholly from our essential confidence in the intellectual and moral integrity of the American people. Why we should have cherished this confidence after what happened in the war, we do not know. But our instinctive trust in democracy still endured! Somehow or other it seemed absolutely impossible that our fellow-countrymen could "fall" in any serious or permanent way for this idiotic flum-dubbery of the Klan, with its Imperial Wizards, and Dragons, and Kleagles and all the rest. But now, we must confess, we are beginning to feel alarm. Here is the Klan steadily and rapidly growing in all sections of the country. A round-up in Texas brings out 70,000 of the white-sheeted faithful. All through the rural sections of Maine, Klan agents are gathering in

members by the thousands. In New Jersey, the membership is counted not by thousands but by tens of thousands. In Indiana the Klan boasts 500,000 members, and in Ohio 700,000. The affiliated organization, known as Kamelia, is now enrolling the women along with the men, and a junior body is lining up the young people. Now comes the entrance of the Klan into politics. Already it has taken possession of the government of Oklahoma, and ousted a fearless if foolish governor. In the recent election it "carried" Ohio. On the night of election day, flaming crosses burned on Long Island in celebration of local victories. Mr. Underwood is definitely informed by the Klan "organ" that he cannot be nominated for President on the Democratic ticket. What does all this mean? We do not know. We still have confidence in American democracy despite war hysteria, lynchings, Knights of Pythias, "Babbitts," and all the rest. But—the Ku Klux Klan makes us shaky!

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Now that we are in the confession business, we might as well admit that the Ku Klux Klan is not the only public menace here in America on which we have guessed wrong. Another is the Fundamentalists! These, like the Knights, we have refused to take seriously. When our good brother and colleague, Mr. Dieffenbach, of the *Christian Register,* was shouting to high heaven against these antedeluvian dogmatists, he seemed to us to be only less of a joke than the Fundamentalists themselves. But we are inclined to think that the passage of time has justified our brother Dieffenbach. He saw the reptile in the egg before the rest of us saw even the egg, and told us his discovery at the expense of a good deal of ridicule and denunciation. Especially was he right, and is he right today, in lambasting the so-called liberals in the orthodox churches for their failure to speak up and say right out loud what they know to be true on these controverted issues of theological belief. Almost without exception the liberal leaders are "playing safe"—keeping silent, and therewith by their silence giving consent to the Fundamentalist propaganda. Just here, as Mr. Dieffenbach sees with perfect clearness, is the real peril in the existing situation. If the liberals would only speak up and tell what they know about the infallibility of the Bible, the authority of the creeds, the miracles of Jesus, and so on, this silly Fundamentalism couldn't last an hour. Like very superstition, it can flourish only in darkness—it can be heard only amid silence. Unopposed by any honesty or courage, the movement has now grown to proportions which are alarming. Protestantism is threatened with disruption, long established institutions of beneficence with bankruptcy, truth with betrayal, because the foul dogmatism of ignorant men is allowed to do its work. There is only one thing to do with the Stratons and the Massees and the Bryans, and that is to convict them of error, brand them with falsehood. Blind leaders of the blind, they should be exposed by those who have eyes and see! If not, we are doomed to another Dark Age, with the work of enlightenment to do all over again.

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Saturday, December 8, marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Collyer. How fragrant is the memory of this man, and how golden still the romance of his days! To think of his career from the anvil to the pulpit, of the progress of the pitiful little child-laborer at Blubberhouses to the world-famous preacher at the Church of the Messiah in New York, is to be reminded of one of the most heroic sagas of biography that the nineteenth century produced. Dr. Collyer was one of the eminent preachers of his time—no city knows this better than Chicago! He was also a distinguished figure in the literature and public service of his period. Above all, he was a good man, as pure in heart as he was handsome in body. We print in tribute today these lovely words, published by a great New York newspaper as he lay dying:

> Great captains with their trumps and drums, orators and sophists with their mouths of thunder, the sons of shrewdness that run away with the supposed first prizes of the world, these have their loud hours and high places; but what are they by the side of spirits of kindness and missionaries of benevolence like Robert Collyer?

## "On the Whole, I Guess . . . !"

We keep hoping that some day some one will write an inner history of martyrdom. No one, so far as we recall, has ever done such a book. We have books dealing with the conflict between science and religion, and between church and state. We have books of martyrs, recounting how these faithful were crucified, stoned to death, hung and quartered, put upon the rack and wheel, sawn asunder, disemboweled, beheaded. But no one has yet told us what it was inside these martyrs which made them submit to be killed by cross and fire and sword. What is it about a great truth or a great master which makes its believers and his followers submit to death in its most horrible forms rather than renounce that truth or betray that master? The earth is round as it happens, not flat. This would seem to be not very important one way or the other. But it is the truth! And time was when men, knowing this for true, were ready to die rather than pretend the earth is flat. Now why? The sun is the center of this system of planets, as it happens, not the earth. But this doesn't matter much either way. No, but it is the truth! And time was when a man would give his body to be burned rather than hold his tongue!

Now why? What was it in the blood of these men

which made them ready to spill that blood, if necessary, even for seemingly trivial and unimportant truths? What was this spirit that was in them? What was their secret? Well, it was not the magnitude of the *thing* in question. People can live just as comfortably on a flat earth as on a round, or on the outskirts of the solar system just as happily as at its center. No, it was the magnitude of the *truth* which bound them, even to the stake and the cross. They were fanatics for intellectual and spiritual integrity. To save their souls they could not tell a lie, not even a little white one!

We sometimes wonder if civilization with all its provisions for safeguarding men of this generation against persecution has not in a measure destroyed this martyr spirit from among us. We look back upon the martyrs of old. We are loud in our praises of their fidelity and severe in our condemnation of their persecutors and executioners. And yet one wonders if there is not just a little touch of complacency and self-congratulation in our praises? We feel that we are safe; that we can think our own thoughts and speak them out freely; that no man can say us nay, much less persecute us and threaten us with death. Yes, but what would happen, we wonder, if men today were persecuted for opinion's sake, if the way of truth did lead straight to the scaffold, the cross, the pile of faggots.

Most men today have what they call "very strong opinions." Many opinions but few convictions! In politics they have their opinion of the Coolidge administration. In international affairs they have their opinion of armaments, the World Court, the League of Nations. In the field of labor they have their opinion of Industrial Democracy. In the field of religion they have their opinion of Fundamentalism. Yes, we are living in an opinionated age! But how many men are there, do you suppose, who would submit to be persecuted for mere opinion's sake? The other day the writer happened to be a listener to a very heated political argument between two men, one of them an infatuated friend of Woodrow Wilson, the other an infuriated enemy. To hear them talk you would think that both of them were ready to die, each for his conviction. And we found ourselves wondering what would happen if someone should step up to either of these men and cry, "You blasphemer! You take back this infamous and slanderous opinion you were just expressing so glibly and so freely. You renounce it, or I shall kill you!" Neither of these men would have stood that acid test. Both of them would have backed down as gracefully as possible and said, "Well, after all, I was just talking to hear myself talk! I was just expressing my opinion. And surely there's no harm in that. I was talking more for the sake of argument than anything else!" That is the spirit of this age. And it is not the spirit of the martyrs of old! Men today do not believe what they believe, not in the spirit of the martyr. It is too easy to believe things today. It costs too little. And so men grow apathetic and become easy-going in their attitude even toward their profoundest convictions. Truth does not present itself to this generation as something to be striven for, fought for, died for. The average man today, if he speak the truth at all, speaks it with an indifferent air; or, at best, in a frightened and apologetic manner; as much as to say, "On the whole, I guess I favor a World Court. On the whole, I guess I am for the League of Nations. On the whole, I guess I am against war and in favor of disarmament. On the whole, I guess I am for Industrial Democracy of some sort."

On the whole, I guess! That is not the martyr spirit. The martyr doesn't guess. He knows! He has seen God, face to face, the God of eternal truth and justice and peace and love, and he knows. He knows that some things are worse than death. Injustice is one of these things, and lies and hatred and compromise, and all the rest of those evil passions which of late years have been shaking our twentieth century civilization to its foundations, threatening to destroy all our free institutions and to put an end to democracy itself on this earth.

No doubt some reader will want to remind us that the martyrs were not always right in their opinions. It is true they always died for what they *thought* was the truth, but in more than one instance later years have shown that they were mistaken. The French aristocrats, for example, went to the guillotine by the cartload for a false belief. They thought that royal Bourbon blood was better than bourgeois. Which it isn't! Yes, but they believed it honestly! And there was a certain dignity in their way of meeting death which impressed even the angry mob and caused the executioner to wonder and hesitate.

We are not saying that martyrs have always died on the side of truth. We are saying that they have always died on the side of their convictions. Which is a very different thing. And we are saying that this present generation had better pin its faith to any man who is ready to die for what subsequent generations may discover to have been an error. Better this kind of fanaticism, if anyone wishes to call it that, than the apathy of the man who happens to hit upon a truth, but who says, "Here it is. You can take it or leave it. I don't care. I'm not going to ruin my career; I'm not going to risk my neck; I'm not going to break my heart; I'm not going to wear my soul out, trying to force this truth upon an unwilling and stupid public." The world, we maintain, had better pin its faith to the man who dies for his error. Does anyone ask why? The reason is plain enough. He has the martyr spirit in him. And some day perhaps he will discover his error, as the other man never will. He will come upon the truth, and then neither earth nor hell shall prevail against him nor silence him nor persuade

him to conceal this truth from the eyes of his generation. That is the spirit of the martyr. And his secret? His secret is with God.

We are persuaded that what the world needs today is more of this martyr spirit. What this generation with all its cynicism and spirit of compromise needs is not more truth but more conviction; not more apathetic opportunism, but more fanaticism, with its "Thus saith the Lord! Ye have heard it said of old . . . but *I* say unto you!" When men of this generation learn to fear dishonor more than ruin and death, injustice more than failure and death, unrighteousness more than the sneers and contempt of men; when we have come to be more concerned for what our children and our children's children will think of us after we are dead than for what the men of our own generation think of us now,—to fear the judgment of posterity more than death itself; when we have come to the conviction that death with honor is more to be desired than life with dishonor; then the martyr spirit will return to this old earth and the voice of the prophet again be heard in the land. We have plenty of schemes for the salvaging of civilization. Plenty of projects for the rebuilding of this ruined earth. Plenty of plans for piecing together the dismembered peoples of the earth. But they shall fail. They shall all fail, until some master-man or some master-nation shall arrive and set about this great task of world-building in the spirit of the martyrs of old.

FRANK C. DOAN.

## Jottings

"We are somewhat troubled with the possibility that the men and women who wholly disbelieved in fighting, and were brave enough to say it consistently in the face of a war-mad community, may have been right, heroically right."—*The Christian Century*, May 4, 1922.

It is reported that, in certain parts of Saskatchewan, there will soon be no strictly denominational church along a whole line of railroad. Thus does the community church movement march on!

The country has been saved again! An eleven-year-old boy has been arrested in New York, by members of the bomb-squad, for distributing seditious literature, and organizing a Communist society among his fellows. The situation is certainly serious when the hated Muscovites invade not only our trades-unions but our nurseries. How much we owe to the police!

A well-known Presbyterian church in New York has recently installed at its doors a footman in livery to receive church-attendants, assist them from their automobiles, and watch their cars during service. Just like the impressive generalissimos at the hotels and the department stores! We hope that if the Nazarene returns and comes to this church, the footman will give particular attention to his Rolls-Royce.

Mussolini is praising the Bolsheviki, and stating his belief that Italy should recognize the Soviet Republic! For the first time we find ourselves wondering if we have not been mistaken, after all, in what we have been saying about these Russians.

Sir Robert Borden, formerly Premier of Canada, is the latest convert to the idea of outlawing war. In the New York *Tribune* (November 21), he is quoted as saying:

> Eminent statesmen in your country have proposed the Outlawry of War. I am with them heart and soul if they will suggest an effective method.

J. H. H.

## Republic Day in Berlin

Editorial Correspondence.

It was Saturday, August 11th—the fourth anniversary of the Constitution. Carl Vetter, "father" of "No more war" day, handed me a ticket for the celebration in the Reichstag, and high noon found me perched in a front seat on the gallery, directly in "front of the battery."

There was a packed house. A chorus of men singers stood back of the Speaker's seat. Members of the Government were there, among them Cuno, Rosenberg and Seeckt, with President Ebert sitting in the gallery to the right. The railing of the gallery was decorated with streamers of oak leaves, one of which I plucked and put in my note book for the "children."

Prominent among the provincial banners on the walls were those of Rhein and Saar, Pfalz, Westfalen, Birkenfeld. In great letters, over the Speaker's desk, were the words,

> United Germany has the will to renew the freedom and justice of Germany and to tighten it; she stands for an inner and external peace; for progress, and therefore the Constitution has been made.

The exercises of an hour and a quarter seemed to me devoid of enthusiasm—in fact, were rather pokey. Promptly at 12:00 the men's chorus sang, "Hear Us, Oh God," after which the Rector of Heidelberg University spoke for half an hour, from manuscript. It might have been President Butler declaiming to students. He was followed by Dr. Jarres of Duisburg, who spoke with more feeling; yet he was greeted with only a few "bravos." The crowd then stood and sang

the national anthem—they did it as poorly as Americans sing "America," and I was expecting something better from Germans, especially on the fourth anniversary of the Republic.

However, the fact that the Republic is so young means that the idea has not taken deep hold on the people. How could it? The German Republic did not grow out of a long struggle of a people for liberty. This does not mean that the Republic will pass away; for I am convinced that a good majority of Germans are for it and there is little likelihood of government swinging to monarchy or to communism.

Republic Day was opened at 9:00 o'clock with the ringing of the bells of the churches. I understand that the Catholic bells rang more easily than the Lutheran. At 9:30 there were crowds on Unter den Linden and around the Brandenburg Gate, watching and waiting, the most of them, for "I do not know what!" as expressed by a lad on a high railing. In Dorotheen and Charlotten streets I saw several hundred people in line, patiently waiting for banks to open. They knew what for, but looked anxious. At 10:30 I changed a dollar bill for 3,900,000 marks, the highest in my own experience. The prices of the taxis, I learned, had jumped four times during the night.

It must have been a sad anniversary for multitudes of Germans, with their mark plunging into the bottomless pit. Just imagine the dollar or pound diluted one million times. How would you celebrate the Fourth or Empire Day? However, the Germans are going right on—and may be after all the life of humanity is more independent of Wall and Downing streets than had been supposed. The Germans may be driven to becoming *Wandervögel* as a people. Still, what of it? They may be put back closer to nature and simplicity, and lose some of their obesity, and then—perhaps a renaissance of art and music and science will burst into bloom. Who knows?

I had heard of a demonstration to take place in Lustgarten, at 6 o'clock in the evening, also that all "demonstrations" had been *verboten*. So, naturally, I wandered around the Lustgarten, at the appointed hour. I have an idea that thousands thought "something was going to happen" on Republic Day, and so stayed at home. I found over 10,000 people there, the most of them clustered like a swarm of bees on the steps leading to the great museum. There was a band of music that played national airs, and as a kind of a sop to the Communists in the crowd, the "Internationale." There were a half dozen speakers, with Carl Vetter—who is an enthusiastic republican—presiding. (By the way, he is an interesting man, one of the live editors of the city. He told me the night before, when I asked him when wars would be abolished, that wars would cease in Europe before they would in the Americas and the Orient. This sounded original.) The speeches were full of vigor—they had to be, for there were scores of husky mouths to cry out against tactless words.

After the voices had died down and the crowd had melted away, except a few lingering around the band, I kept on sitting and thinking. There seemed to be nothing else to do. I was at the center of the tumult raging in the German nation; for, the Lustgarten is at the heart of the old German Empire. If I could have cast myself down from the steps or off the bridge into the Spree to *any purpose,* I'd have been willing to do it: anything to bring salvation to Germany and Europe. But all I could *do* was to meditate.

What I saw and felt, at the close of Republic Day, was this: The voices seemed to have gone off into air, and the speakers to a neighboring restaurant to refresh themselves. A silent, aimless group was left about the music stand. In front was the castle, to the left the *Dom,* and back of me the Museum of Art. Beyond the Castle were the two spires of St. Nikolai, the oldest church in Berlin.

On the sky-line, as I looked from right to left, on Castle, and Church and *Dom,* were nearly a dozen crosses. The suggestion came to me, at which I rebelled at first. But at last I had to admit that it was all typical of the cold facts; namely, that power and government, and church (of all institutions) must be under *domination* of the cross. Men have the *right idea*—it is remarkable—when they build; but they speak, sing, dance, wander, in the Lustgarten. This sounds over-pious. I am convinced that the fault of the life that *was* in the Castle, and that *is* in the *Dom,* is that the cross *did and does not* dominate.

If this means that religion is essential, I cannot help it. I can't see much promise in politics or economics that rises up to speak and sits down to eat. I can't see promise short of demanding that individuals shape their lives under the domination of the cross, of love—the ethical conception, please—and then proceed to change the whole world — governments, industry, schools—accordingly.

As for Germany, she has been pressed out of the "way of the world," and pressed into the way of suffering. I am praying that she will find the joy and life in the way of the cross, that may be accepted, not as by compulsion.

SYDNEY STRONG.

## Sayings of Gandhi

By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have. Many of our movements stop half way because of the condition of our women. Much of our work does not yield appropriate results. Our lot is like that of the pennywise and pound foolish trader who does not employ enough capital in his business.

With me, non-violence is part of my religion. . . . Violence may for a moment avail to secure a certain measure of success, but it cannot in the long run achieve any appreciable result.

Non-coöperation will not succeed unless we create an atmosphere of perfect freedom—unless we prize our opponents' liberty as much as our own.

The liberty of faith, conscience, thought and action, which we claim for ourselves must be conceded equally to others. Non-coöperation is a process of purification, and we must continually try to touch the hearts of those who differ with us, their minds and their emotions, but never their bodies. Discipline and restraint are the cardinal principles of our conduct, and I warn you against any sort of tyrannical social ostracism.

Mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races.

# Outlawry of War: What It Is and Is Not

## *A Reply to Walter Lippmann*

*By* JOHN DEWEY

### I. False Conceptions of Outlawry

The editorial columns of the *New Republic* have several times commented upon the tendency of persons engaged in an effort to do away with war to divide into hostile groups. The comments regret a prevalent disposition to assume that some one method is the sole and exclusive method. It is obvious that anything interwoven as war is with tradition, national histories, politics, economics, diplomacy and education must be approached from many angles. It is natural that some persons should be interested in one mode of approach and other persons in another. But the only intelligent strategy is that of co-ordinated division of labor, instead of mutual recrimination and attack which only strengthen and delight the forces that make for war.

Mr. Lippmann's recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on the Outlawry of War is an exemplification, and, to some of us at least, an unexpected one, of the main point of these editorials. Not that Mr. Lippmann does anything so crude as openly to advocate one method as the sole method; it is by suggestion and implication rather than by direct advocacy that he commends the so-called League of Nations as the panacea. In attacking the proposition to outlaw war he represents it as a rival to everything else and as such a rival as necessarily to exclude recourse to all other methods whatsoever for lessening the probability of war. In fact the scheme as it is presented by Mr. Lippmann is a rival to the most elementary common sense. For this reason I cannot imagine that his article will seriously damage the movement to outlaw war; it presents it in such a light that the unbiased reader is likely to feel, without much analysis, that intelligent persons could hardly have advocated such a scheme. What it is likely to damage is the cause of peace. For it adds the authority of Mr. Lippmann's name to the ardor of those who are so devoted to the existing League and its so-called World Court that they feel in duty bound to attack any and every other plan for coping with those international disputes that breed wars.

As I have implicitly charged Mr. Lippmann with misrepresentation of the plan—not intentional of course—it is only fair that I should give some indication of the ways in which he has misrepresented it. In the first place, no one acquainted with the formation and growth of the plan in the mind of its author, Mr. Levinson, dating from the early period of the war, long before our entrance into it, would recognize the account Mr. Lippmann gives of its history. According to him the plan to outlaw war is the manifestation of sheer genius for contrariety; it is the product of irreconcilability for the sake of irreconcilability. For he says it was "first employed to strengthen a league, before there was a League. It was used to defeat the League after there was a League, and to advocate an international court before there was a Court. Now that the Court has been created, it is being used to defeat the Court, and to advocate another court which does not exist." Whence Mr. Lippmann naturally concludes that the plan has "a perfect record of irreconcilability."

It is properly Mr. Levinson's business to say what he thinks needs to be said regarding the inception and development of the plan to outlaw war. But meantime from contemporaneous knowledge I should like to match Mr. Lippmann's account by another. The idea was formed before a League of Nations was broached in any way. After the idea was broached it was employed to define the basic indispensable condition of an association of nations: that its foundation be the agreement of adhering nations to make war a public crime and to submit their disputes to adjudication by a court. As long as there was a prospect of such an outcome Mr. Levinson and the friends of his scheme heartily supported Mr. Wilson irrespective of political creed. When Mr. Wilson surrendered his cause, and the Covenant of the League not only tied the League to the iniquities of the Versailles Treaty but failed to outlaw war, the friends of outlawry of war remained faithful to their cause. Part of the plan from the first was the creation of a "judicial substitute for war"—a court to which parties to an international dispute would agree to submit, under the terms of international law making war a crime, their controversies for hearing and decision. To that conception they have adhered without wavering. Mr. Lippmann is better informed concerning the present court than many of its emotional adherents. He will hardly say, I think, that it answers this description, or even that it is a court in the accepted legal sense of the term court. Thus the record is not one of irreconcilability but of fidelity to an idea. Mr. Lippmann and others may not like the idea; the more reason for giving a correct account of its history.

We come to the idea itself. I select three points from Mr. Lippmann's account of the plan for outlawry. He asserts that the plan after nominally outlawing war introduces "a set of reservations which withdraws from the scope of the code and the competency of the court many, if not most, of the major policies which cause disputes. Finally it disembowels the outlawry of war by legalizing wars in defense of those major policies which are excluded from the competence of the court and the code." If this were a correct account, it should settle the matter for all sensible persons. Any such plan is a dishonest pretense; further argument against it is needless.

But Mr. Lippmann' sole evidences that such reservations are made, apart from a speech by Senator Knox in which he expressed his personal opinion about matters that are domestic and hence outside the scope of an international tribunal, are that the right of self-defense is reserved, and that "Senator Borah's resolution seems to justify in addition wars of liberation." Mr. Lippmann then reaches his sweeping conclusion as to the disembowelling of outlawry by identifying the right of self-defense with defense of any national policy, pointing out that all modern wars are nominally defensive, and by identifying wars of liberation with the "right to go to war for what you call your liberty." Now the right of self-defense has a definite and long established legal meaning: it is the right to defend one's self *when actually attacked*. Strictly speaking, it was not necessary to include that item, for

such a right simply cannot be taken away by any code. Reference to it was probably inserted because otherwise some persons would object to the plan by inquiring: "What are you going to do if actually attacked by another nation? Are your hands tied by your agreement to treat war as a crime?" The reference to liberty is a bugaboo of the same nature. Wars of liberation are civil wars, internal revolutions, outside any international code; wars of a subject class or group against what they regard as intolerable tyranny. The peculiarity of such wars is that they are now crimes by law; not by international law but by domestic law; and yet to the minds of most persons they are the most justifiable of all wars. And I take it that what Mr. Lippmann finds in the Borah resolution which seems to justify any war with another nation "for what you call your liberty," is simply an allusion to his anomalous situation. I submit that Mr. Lippmann does not strengthen his argument by presenting these men of straw.

In the second place, Mr. Lippmann works himself up to the point where he succeeds in convincing himself that the plan to outlaw war involves the abolition of all diplomatic methods. He says, "The central fallacy of their argument is this refusal to acknowledge the necessity of diplomacy for just those war-breeding disputes which are not within the competence of their code and their court. For if diplomacy is a necessary method of maintaining peace, then no plan which does not provide for it can be an effective plan to abolish war. And if the method of diplomacy is necessary, then the reform of that method is one of the most urgent of human needs." I confess this argument goes beyond me. The plan to outlaw war also fails to provide for the institution of marriage, of private property, and a number of other things which many people believe to be quite as necessary as is diplomacy. How Mr. Lippmann managed to bring himself to the opinion that failure to provide for ambassadors and conferences means that the plan to outlaw war is in any way antagonistic to them is a mystery I cannot explain. The suggestion that diplomacy is in some need of reform is, however, pertinently welcome. I imagine that the friends of the outlawry of war believe that the most effective way to reform diplomacy is to make recourse to war a crime and provide a court for the settlement of disputes when diplomats come to an impasse. The plan "fails to provide" for abolishing secret treaties, military alliances (and all existing alliances are essentially military) and the intrigue and chicanery, which, in common repute, are accompaniments of traditional diplomacy. It is arguable that the chief cause for the things that make reform of diplomacy so urgent a human need would disappear if war were outlawed and a court were always in the offing. It is arguable that the notion that it will be reformed in any other way is a case of that "tragic futility of noble sentiments frustrated by confused ideas" to which Mr. Lippmann calls attention.

The third point is like the second, perhaps is only an instance of its principle. Mr. Lippmann quotes from the Borah resolution to outlaw war as follows: "The genius of civilization has discovered but two methods of compelling the settlement of human disputes, namely, law and war." This generalization Mr. Lippmann says is "utterly untrue. The genius of civilization has invented, besides law and war, countless other methods of settling disputes." And he mentions, besides representative government and federalism (which to most minds involve law and courts), mediation, conciliation, friendly intervention, compromise and conference. Mr. Lippmann evidently read the passage carelessly. It does not say that law and war are the only methods of settling disputes, but the only ways of compelling their settlement—quite a different proposition, and one that I shall continue to believe until I am shown the contrary.

This in itself is perhaps not a very important matter. But the use that Mr. Lippmann makes of his misunderstanding *is* important. For he employs it to make a strong argument for adjustment of disputes by conference and by political methods. And his implication of course is that the proposition to outlaw war is opposed to the use of such methods. The disjunction is thoroughly unwarranted in itself and quite foreign to the friends of the proposition to outlaw war. Since Mr. Lippmann has made so much of the "irreconcilability" of Senator Borah, he might have remembered that it was Senator Borah who first suggested a conference to limit armaments, and that he was the author of the resolution to call an economic conference with representatives of European nations. And a little inquiry would have informed him that Mr. Levinson's practice as a lawyer consists precisely in settling disputes between large economic interests with a minimum of resort to the courts. These personal matters are pertinent. For they illustrate the fact that the alleged exclusive alternatives between law and courts on one side and political methods on the other are wholly of Mr. Lippmann's own making. The genuine alternatives are between political methods based upon a system which legalizes war, and political methods which have as their basic principle that war is a crime, so that when diplomacy and conferences cannot reach agreement the dispute shall be substituted to a court. It is reasonable, to say the least, to believe that the method of conference, conciliation and mediation will be much more employed and employed with greater good faith and sincerity when recourse to war is a recognized public crime than it is now. For the method will be liberated from the menace which now almost makes necessary recourse to chicanery, secrecy and underhand intrigue, and those threats of force which win Mr. Lippmann's approval. For when Mr. Lippmann says that diplomacy is required which works not only by conference and bargaining but "also in last analysis by the threat of force" he admits what he has previously denied: that law is in final analysis the only discovered alternative to force as a means of *compelling* settlement of disputes. To a thoughtful reader this admission of the necessity of using the threat of force explains Mr. Lippmann's inability to understand the proposition of outlawry of war. For the essence of that proposition is to substitute the method of judicial settlement for the method of force. Mr. Lippmann may be ready to assume in advance that any such proposition it utopian. The friends of the outlawry of war hold that it is worth trying, and that unless it is capable of succeeding war will never be abolished. And since the threat of war implies war, the major premise of Mr. Lippmann's argument seems to be that war will never be abolished. It would have been simpler to have attacked the outlawry of war on this avowed ground.

At all events we have here the nub of the whole matter. Of course politics and political methods will long, possibly forever, affect the international relations of

states. What the proposition to outlaw war calls attention to is the radical difference between the present status of international politics, assuming as it does the legality of war and using a diplomacy based upon that legality, and the conduct of international politics when war is a public crime. To many of us it is a "tragic futility" to expect that the present European political system, based, as it is, upon the tradition of war and the enmities accompanying it, will eliminate war or greatly reduce its probabilities. For that international system was born and bred in the briar-patch of war. It is bound up with it and with the threat of force at every point. The present state of Europe, wherever we look, confirms this statement. Until war is outlawed and a judicial substitute for it is provided, it is hopeless to propose American participation in that system. The American people may be very ignorant about international affairs, but it knows enough to know that entanglement in that system means entanglement in a war system. In my judgment it is also intelligent and generous enough to engage in international association when international politics are cut loose from war and the threat of force. When war is outlawed, the politics of international relations will be liberated to pursue a normal development. The obvious policy of the friends of internationalism and of a genuine association of nations is for them to work for the outlawry of war instead of opposing it as a rival to the association of nations.

### II. War and a Code of Law

In the minds of those who seriously question the project to revise international law and provide an international court so that recourse to war shall be a crime, the difficulty connected with forming a code of law to govern the conduct of the court is likely to loom largest. I am quite ready to admit that those who favor the plan easily tend to fix their faith in the general idea and trust to the future to solve the concrete difficulties when once the basic idea is accepted. But this disposition is quite offset by the corresponding tendency of those to whom the idea does not appeal, to fix their minds on the difficulty of making a code and to see nothing else. In any case it must be remembered that it is no part of the business of those who are urging trial of the plan to propose in advance a ready-made code. For it is part of that plan that the code shall be drawn up by expert jurists representing the various nations. There is no dodging the issue in declining to state in advance just what the conclusions of the assembly of jurists must be. It is a fair demand, however, that the general difficulties in the way of the jurists themselves be faced in discussion of the project. First of all, it is necessary to discriminate between genuine difficulties and those which in the end will probably turn out to be imaginary, and to this point alone this paper is directed.

Mr. Lippmann has urged with force and skill that the making of a code of international law is essentially a political legislative act, so that it involves the "setting up of a world legislature. The conference which was to make the code would have to lay down laws affecting the very existence of governments and the destiny of nations." So he charges those who oppose any plan that involves a superstate with a glaring contradiction. For they are really asking, according to him (if they only knew what they are about), for "a super-court and a super-conference to legislate a super-code."

The question of consistency is not nearly so important, of course, as the question of fact, but the issue of fact may be approached by the road of the issue of consistency. For the accusation of inconsistency may be turned about. The position taken by Mr. Lippmann proves altogether too much for any one who believes in the existing League Court and in American adherence to it, who believes in it in anything but a Pickwickian sense, or as a cellar entrance into the Council of the League. Would it have been necessary to have had a code covering all kinds of political disputes between nations as an antecedent of the competency of even the Hague tribunal to pass upon the clause of the Austrian ultimatum that Serbia wished to refer to that tribunal? Would political legislation affecting the very existence of governments have been required to enable the existing League Court to pass upon the construction of the Treaty of Versailles so as to determine judicially whether or not the French invasion of the Ruhr was authorized by its terms? Would it have required a super-legislature and a super-state code to hold back the action of Italy in bombarding and seizing Corfu until a Court had passed upon Greek responsibility for the murder of Commissioners and the proper liability of Greece for the atrocity? If so, the objection of Mr. Lippmann logically makes any court an impossibility and profession of faith in one an insincere farce.

The question is of importance because it points to the issue of fact. It is quite clear that the three incidents cited are precisely the sort of thing that now precede wars, and equally clear that the sole indispensable condition of their submission to a court is the willingness of nations to submit them. They were not submitted to an international court. The reason, however, was not because there was no super-code in existence. The existing state of international law, whatever its imperfections, would have sufficed to secure a judicial hearing and decision, were it not for the one fundamental imperfection in that code against which the outlawry project is directed; namely, its legalizing of resort to force which enables any nation that thinks it can get away with it to constitute itself the final judge in its own cause. In reality the chief difficulty in discussion of an international code adequate for the purposes of a court is a subtle psychological one. Unconsciously we tend to project into the future situation all the attendants of the present system of legalized war, and thus fail to recognize the extent to which difficulties spring from the legalizing of war, and would disappear were war outlawed. One will come, I believe, to very different conclusions about the difficulties in the way of developing an adequate code according as he considers the actual antecedents of the wars that the world has endured in the last fifty years, or as he conjures up all possible conflicts of national interests. If he pursues the latter method, he will be likely to come out where Mr. Lippmann stands; if he takes the former course, he will see that these conflicts of interest resulted in war because war is now an authorized way of securing settlement of disputes. Then he will acknowledge that the difficulties in connection with formation of a code are largely technical, and concern for the most part just those questions of procedure which jurists are accustomed and competent to deal with.

To prove this point conclusively it would be necessary to take up the immediate antecedents of each of

the wars of the last fifty years. In lieu of such a consideration we may appeal to the general belief that even arbitration if it were universally resorted to would prevent most wars, for it would provide time for passion to cool; it would prevent that almost fatalistic forward push of conflicting interests into war that now exists; it would provide publicity to unify and direct that enlightened public sentiment and judgment of the world which now is at the mercy of prejudice, clamor and propaganda.

Even more pertinent is consideration of the actual relation that obtains between the outbreak of war and the undoubted and undeniable conflicts of interest that exist and that will long continue to exist. There has been fricion, for example, between Japan and the United States; and enough, to make some persons at least on both sides of the water talk about the prospect of war. Nominally much of this friction has been associated with our laws restricting immigration. Consequently one who thinks in general terms about international disputes may come to the conclusion that the international code would have to legislate upon the question of immigration, and point, as does Mr. Lippmann, to the extreme improbability that the United States Congress would ever entrust such legislation to an international assembly. But as a matter of fact, Japan itself has regulations governing immigration into its territories as drastic as those of the United States, as well as strict laws regulating the alien ownership of real property. The history of diplomacy demonstrates that the issue of immigration is not the *cause* of war; friction on this point is merely utilized to arouse popular feeling to the point of supporting a war that is really waged for quite other reasons—in this case presumably economic causes connected with control of the Asiatic mainland.

It may be replied that to form a code that would regulate such economic conflicts would be even more difficult than one regulating immigration. The answer to this objection is that it would be totally unnecessary. The outstanding fact is that the avowed purposes of modern wars are never coincident with their actual causes. No one can conceive either Japan or the United States publicly avowing that its real object was the economic control or monopoly of China, and going to the Court for a decision on that case. By the nature of the case the only questions that could be taken to a court are avowed objective issues. The present legalizing of war makes possible a complete confusion of these avowed issues with hidden and unavowed conflicts of interest, honor and prestige. But the only causes that a court would pass upon and that a code has to cover are the reasons which a nation is willing openly to expose to the world; and resort to war after the court had decided the case against the nation would be a public confession of hypocrisy, and of an underlying predatory disposition. So far then is it from being true that an international code would have to pass upon all important questions of national prestige and honor, that the converse is true. Questions of prestige and honor are now of inflammatory importance because of the legalizing of war and the absence of a court; they will remain the main reliance in the technique of enlisting support of a war waged for unavowed reasons until war is outlawed. Then they will suddenly lose their present importance, except for a nation that is willing to defy by criminal action the decision of a court and the public opinion of the world.

I cannot conceive that any one will deny that the real causes of important modern wars are different from the avowed reasons for them, or that the gaining of popular support for most wars depends upon the power of foreign offices and the press to confuse the two. One of the chief grounds for belief in outlawry of war is that the creation of the judicial substitute for war would render it hard to keep up this confusion. We may take some instances from the list of causes of war put forth by Mr. Lippmann. "Are the natural resources of undeveloped countries the property of the natives to have and hold as they see fit, or have European and American nations rights in them?" This is an important and difficult question, but since it leads to war only as a concealed and not an avowed cause, the code would not have to legislate upon it. Can any one imagine that Germany would have seized Shantung upon the publicly avowed ground of control of raw materials? The alleged cause, the murder of nationals, is on the contrary precisely the sort of thing that a code and court can deal with. What would have happened in the Boer trouble, if the British had stated that their purpose was command of natural resources? "May Mexico confiscate American oil property?" I can readily imagine that under certain circumstances, oil might be the *real* cause of war between Mexico and the United States: I cannot imagine that the American people would ever go to war with Mexico if the avowed cause of the war were to support American oil interests, nor can I imagine any American government admitting this to be the cause of a war. On the other hand, property disputes are just the sort of thing that courts are always dealing with; it needs no radically new code to enable an international court to deal with them. "Do nations which happen to block the access of other nations to the sea owe any duty to landlocked peoples, which ought to limit their sovereign rights over their own ports and railroads?" I am far from denying that this is a genuine and important problem. But nations avowedly grab ports and go to war to get them, because of past national history, of interest in their nationals who are said to be a majority of the population and so on, not because of the economic claim. And since the latter issue would not go to the Court it does not have to be considered by the code.

To get a picture of the dependence of the possibility of securing support for war upon covering up economic causes with idealistic reasons, we need only recall that at one time the mere suggestion that the late World War was at bottom an economic conflict was almost enough to land its author in jail. Provision of a judicial substitute for war would almost automatically tend to disentangle the nominal and alleged reasons from the underlying conflict of interests, and make it necessary to refer the latter to the proper organs for dealing with them, namely the agencies of negotiation and political adjustment. For, as I have said before, the friends of Outlawry do not urge it as a substitute for political means, but as the method of securing that division of labor between legal and political agencies that will alone enable both of them to function effectively. Any one who realizes the difference between the present system of lawless and anarchic international political action and political action as it would become when associated with law, will also perceive that, given the expression in law of the popular ab-

horrence of war, the difficulties in the way of developing a code for the purposes of a court are quite manageable. Discussion of its actual scope and content is such a technical matter that I gladly leave it to lawyers.

*From "The New Republic" of October 3rd, and 24th,* 1923.

## Genius and Illness

It is generally conceded, that eccentricity accompanies genius. No one who has ever known a genius intimately expects him to behave like a normal human being, granting there is such a thing as a state of human normalcy. Balzac, we are told, worked from twelve to twenty-one hours a day under the influence of strong coffee. O. Henry declared that he could not write except in a "steam heated Manhattan flat with no fresh air and no exercise." A certain well-known American artist appears at formal functions in impeccable evening dress, but with a broad silver bracelet of South American origin gracing his left wrist. All the world has heard of Mark Twain's all year round white flannels and his inspirational black cigar.

As one reviews the history of art and literature, he may also reach the conclusion that genius is subject not only to personal idiosyncrasies and oddities, but to certain illnesses as well which may in some measure be the result of the eccentricities. These, while generally considered handicaps to ambition and achievement, seem also to act as a stimulus to creative effort. An interesting phenomenon to students of the history of medicine, for example, is the large number of brilliant men and women who have been victims of tuberculosis.

In these days of Russian fadism we might begin with Dostoievsky, whom many people consider Russia's greatest novelist. Dostoievsky did his best work while he and his wife were literally starving, and tuberculosis was undermining his health. One of his most famous books was written in Siberia where, for three years, he suffered terrible privations, with no possibility of obtaining those essentials in the successful treatment of tuberculosis,—fresh air, nourishing food, rest and cleanliness. Yet he ranks among the most brilliant authors who ever lived.

Sappho, probably the greatest poetess who ever lived, was also tuberculous. She was "the tenth muse" of the Greeks and her fame rivalled that of Homer. Little is known of her life, but her physical condition seems to have been no handicap to her genius. Charlotte Brontë, author of "Jane Eyre," and Emily Brontë, who wrote "Wuthering Heights," were both tuberculous. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, too, was a consumptive.

So was Robert Louis Stevenson. He went to Saranac Lake and there met Dr. Edward Livingston Trudeau, founder of the famous health resort, who as a young man had gone to his beloved Adirondacks to die. Dr. Trudeau lived to be over sixty years of age, and became one of the founders of the anti-tuberculosis movement in this country. Stevenson improved, but never became wholly well. Later he went to the South Sea Islands and remained there until his death. Grateful natives of Tahiti who loved him, still remember him by keeping his grave always fresh with flowers.

John Keats, whose "Skylark," "Endymion" and "Ode to a Grecian Urn" are dear to all lovers of poetry, was also tuberculous. Aubrey Beardsley, Keats' friend, who was perhaps the greatest artist who ever worked in black and white, died in his early twenties of the same disease. John Paul Jones, who was not a genius in the artistic sense, but was undoubtedly one as he became one of this country's greatest naval commanders, also was a victim of the great white plague.

Scientists disagree on the effect which tuberculosis has upon the human mind. Some believe that the artistic temperament, so often erratic, leads to an abnormal life which, in turn, causes a lowering of physical resistance and consequent active disease. Others maintain that the tuberculosis germ creates toxins in the blood which have the effect upon an already creative mind of stimulating the mental and creative faculties.

To illustrate the latter theory, the case of St. Francis of Assisi is sometimes mentioned. St. Francis, up to the time he became tuberculous, was a gay, carefree spendthrift. But when he became ill his personality changed completely. He gave all his property to the poor, and went about Europe as a mendicant, collecting alms for the poor. He initiated one of the greatest religious orders the world has known. Most sufferers from tuberculosis, however, are not geniuses, but average people whose illness causes sorrow and suffering in thousands of families every year. Of them, it cannot be said that they are in any way benefited by the disease. Depression, poverty, and dependency are often the only accompaniments of their ailment.

During the past fifteen years of its work the National Tuberculosis Association has seen a decrease in the death rate from tuberculosis from 200 per 100,000 to 100 per 100,000 population. Specialists in the disease believe that with a continuous, aggressive campaign it may be reduced to a minimum in very much the same way as typhoid fever and malaria have been reduced. In order to continue its campaign of education regarding the prevention aand treatment of tuberculosis, the National Association and its affiliated organizations will conduct the sixteenth annual Christmas seal sale in December.

HELENA LORENZ WILLIAMS.

### THE UNFULFILLED

It is the deed that lacks,
Nor quite fulfills
The glory of the dream.
Dawn writes in gold
Some promise on the hills
That nightfall finds half done.
Beauty draws night and leaves
Her burning kiss upon our eyes
Until we leap to fashioning
Some gift for gods.

Yet awkward hands
Shape crudely the reluctant clay,
Or blot the canvas,
Or discord the keys.
So fair the gleam that leads
Where feet can scarcely tread;
So small the deed—
Yet still I have the dream,
I have the dream!

*—Hugh Robert Orr.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

### A LETTER FROM HUNGARY

(From our Correspondent.)

Dear John Haynes Holmes:

Many thanks for your letter of Oct. 8th. On October 10th I left London and travelled in rain and mist to Dover, crossing the channel to Ostend and then journeying on via Brussels, Strassburg, Basle and Vienna. The weather was very bad until we left Basle and then the sun shone the whole day as we passed through the wonderful Swiss scenery, with the mountains, rivers and fertile valley, and on the highest peaks the snow glistening in the sunshine. The Swiss peasants always win my admiration, they are so industrious, so sturdy and capable of battling with the great natural forces of their mountainous land. After 2 days and nights in the train it was a great pleasure to arrive in Vienna and stay 3 or 4 days there. It had been my intention to travel through Germany and see conditions of life in Berlin but the political and financial condition was so uncertain that it was deemed unwise to go via Germany, unless one was prepared to be held up there for some time. This advice was given to me at three Foreign Legations. Luckily the great catastrophe has not yet happened in Germany, though day by day there is a slowly developing tragedy of poverty, unrest and suffering.

Travelling now on the Continent is a little pleasanter than a year or two ago. The trains are less crowded, the carriages are cleaner and at the Frontiers the custom officers are less strict and the luggage is usually examined in the carriages. How different from those early journeys taken in 1919, 1920 and 1921 when all passengers had to leave the trains at every Frontier, carry the luggage through the custom offices and frequently wait on the platforms in cold or rain or snow for some hours.

As I had special vises from the German, Austrian and Hungarian Legations, in recognition of the work done in England during the War in connection with the Friends' Emergency Committee for befriending aliens in distress, I had never any difficulty whatever at any Frontier. On the express train from Basle to Vienna it was of great interest to see printed notices in the corridors warning travellers against spitting in the trains. A fine would be imposed. This was done under the anti-tuberculosis campaign. To one who has been in relief work in central Europe for some years and who realizes the terrible ravages and immense danger of tuberculosis, it is a comfort to see such precautions, but the notices must be extended to all trains of every class and to all continental countries. One of the things which American and English visitors to the continent notice is the spread of this bad habit and more must be done to awaken the public conscience and make the individual realize his part in the prevention of consumption.

The life and conditions in Vienna are vastly improved since the coming of the Foreign Loan under the League of Nations. Before this time the Kronen fluctuated, there was much misery and unemployment and the people seemed apathetic and listless. The greatest blessing is that there is now a spirit of hope; there is little grumbling; very many people I conversed with said at once, "Oh, things are better and we can't complain now."

There are still many sad middle class cases of aged and pensioned people who have lost their all, and of children and adults whose health is injured from the starvation period under the cruel Blockade, but on all hands there is a revival of industry and what is essential for business, confidence and trust. Speaking with two large employers of labor, I gathered that they were quite satisfied with the present economic conditions, that their factories were kept busy and that while the employer was not now so rich, yet the workpeople were decently paid and had a higher standard of living.

There is much building also going on in Vienna. The Society of Friends' Relief Mission with its English and American helpers still carries on its noble and humanitarian work and helps tuberculosis cases and middle class families in need. On every hand their name and mission is revered throughout Europe and as a rich Jew said to me, "The Quakers have saved religion." Walking about in Vienna today and recalling past visits in 1920, 1921 and 1922 it is quite obvious that Austria has passed her worst period and is now heading to a revival of business and trade, and beginning to take her old place amongst the foremost nations of Europe. The opera is still wonderful and no longer is it supported by many rich foreign visitors, for again it has become typically Viennese. I was present at a memorable performance of Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde." It is impossible to forget the enthusiasm and delight of that crowded audience as from stalls to gallery the applause resounded after every act for the singer and at the beginning of each act for the talented conductor.

Vienna seems to be normal again and it is good to see one bit of damaged Europe put in order and becoming prosperous.

In the train travelling from Vienna to Budapest was an Austrian merchant. During the sad years after the armistice his delicate child had gone on the children's train as a guest to England. He spoke with fervent gratitude of this kindly act and was touched by the goodwill of those in England who sought to heal the sores of war by showing a spirit of brotherhood. Then he said he wanted his girl to return to England to learn the language better and more of English ways. A lady in the carriage suggested it would be difficult now as the journey was so expensive, but he said that would be no consideration today as since the Foreign Loan his business was prospering again. This little incident explains much of present day Austria. It tells of the extreme suffering and poverty of the past and of the more happy times ahead. One good feature is that now people feel it is safe and wise to begin to save surplus money.

I arrived in Budapest on October 15th and found that since my departure in June on every hand prices had risen enormously, that wages did not keep in line with the increasing cost of living and that the Kronen was unofficially very unstable. It is often said "no one can live now on his salary except in rare instances," and it would appear to be true since a large part of the people are playing on the Exchange or with the Valuta or else selling articles from the home. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty, a sense of spending while one has the money as it may lose its value.

On the one hand, as was the case in Austria and Germany, there is extravagance and luxury, a display of wealth by profiteers and *nouveau riche*, and yet on the other hand great poverty and distress, a lowering of character, an apathy, a lack of looking to the future. One very sad side of life here today is the frequent cases of suicides, especially among young men of the middle class between 20 and 30 years old. In the *Pester Lloyd* there is some case every day and one evening I read of three sad cases. The cause is often given—tired of living. This seems all the sadder at this time, for October has been a month here of warm sunshine, and even today people in private houses or restaurants are having mid-day meals out of doors. A chestnut tree in front of this house where I write has overstepped the coming winter and is now all in bloom and showing the new leaf. Knowing what the hardships of the winters are in this part of Europe and at present the extreme high price of fuel, how good it would be to bring the whole population, as in a dream, on to the spring, thus forgetting the cold and frost and snow and the untimely victims death will inevitably claim through the suffering of the winter months.

We have still with us in Budapest the Refugee problem, for a certain number of families, rooted up and thrown over the Frontier, have been unable to accustom themselves to a city life and labors, after knowing only the great plain, the plough, the cattle, the sowing and reaping and the quiet mountain side or valley.

Then too I learned from the Russian Red Cross representative that there are here many Russian women with their young children and they are unable to work and also to learn the difficult Magyar language. Little money comes for the Russian Relief and last winter I helped many needy cases.

As you will remember, help was also given to the wives and children of the political interned or imprisoned and in this connection I have worked with the social mission here and other friendly agencies. Since I left Budapest in June the Kronen has depreciated from 25,000 to 92,000 to the English pound, and since I have been here the train fares have been raised, the cost of living has gone up in many necessities of life, and on November 1st all rents were raised. If families can buy enough to eat and pay the rent and obtain winter fuel they feel fortunate, for new clothing and boots cannot be included in the household budget.

Many children can still be saved from tuberculosis if treated while in the early stage of the disease by extra food or sanatorium treatment. One of the Foreign Consuls here is very kind in giving cod liver oil to certain cases I can recommend to him.

While the Reparations Commission discusses the question of the Hungarian Loan, the actual conditions of life and labor get worse. Still the thought that the Loan may come, keeps alive hope, and that is of immense moral value.

A *Times* journalist told me in London that "the Austrian

## THE FIELD

*"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"*

### NEWS ITEM.

The National Federation of Religious Liberals, with headquarters at Lincoln Centre, Chicago, has recently held district conferences at Junction City, Kan.; Kansas City, Mo.; Denver, Colo; Toledo, Ohio; and Chicago.

The next meeting of the Federation will be held at Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Friday evening, December 14th, with the following speakers and subjects:

"The Present Day Religious Situation" —Frank D. Adams, the Universalist Church of Detroit.

"Religion and the Personal Life"—Preston Bradley, the People's Church of Chicago.

"Religion and the Social Order"—Paul H. Douglas, member of the Religious Society of Friends; Dept. of Economics, Chicago University.

"Religion and the Program for World Peace"—John Haynes Holmes, the Community Church of New York City.

The efforts of the Federation to secure financial support are meeting with favorable response. Without exception where the claims of the Federation have been presented at a public gathering the response has been most encouraging. The Federation is not making a spectacular "drive" for funds, but wherever opportunity is presented and whenever the time of the chairman of the executive committee will permit, the needs of the Federation are presented. In the meanwhile the regular work of the Federation, which includes conducting district conferences and distributing liberal literature, is progressing satisfactorily. In November the Associated Press carried two extended stories of the work and plans of the Federation. On the basis of perfect liberty in the quest for true religion, the Federation seeks to marshall the liberal forces of America and to direct them against intolerance and injustice to the end that free men shall dwell together on terms of mutual well-being.

CURTIS W. REESE,
Chairman Executive Com.

## CLEARING THE WAR HYSTERIA RECORD.

Presistent rumors in the last few weeks that the remaining 32 political prisoners may be granted amnesty is an infallible sign, at least, that Christmas is coming. We have witnessed this welling of holiday hope for several successive years. But whether the rumors are justified or not, the freeing of the last politicals, as the American Civil Liberties Union recently pointed out, would not by any means wipe clean the government slate on this matter.

The victims of the Espionage Act and other war edicts are still encumbered with legal disabilities and restrictions upon their personal liberty. Some forty cases are still pending in the courts. Many former political prisoners of foreign birth are exiled from their real homes and interests. Not until the government restores full rights to speak, work and live here to persons penalized for the expression of views during the war, will the record be clean.

The Civil Liberties Union makes four

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Loan had cleaned up a bit of the awful mess in central Europe and it eased the consciences of many people in 'the city,' and they hoped to clean up a bit more in Hungary." But one day will come the great task of cleaning up the mess already made in Germany. Though I did not travel through Germany I have received very telling facts about real conditions there. A young friend of mine who lives in Berlin, works in the German Head Bank in that city. He is most honorable and would never have asked for help except under the most pressing circumstances. He writes that his younger brother lies ill at home, the aged grandmother has come to live with them in their 2 rooms, the mother, a widow, sits and cries all day as they have not enough to eat. I quote his words, "most of the people in Berlin are suffering from starvation. Thousands of unemployed people pass along the streets begging for a piece of bread. If only we could have potatoes and bread! I don't know what to do, my mother is crying the whole day. We did not cook potatoes for about 8 or 10 days. I have told my mother that I would find ways to get food or money and she has no idea I am writing to you."

I can only feel thankful this friend is honest and honorable or what a temptation to him. Do we wonder at the demoralization of good men and women in central Europe. England and America can never realize what a state central Europe is in, and what a need there is for international brotherhood and goodwill. On receiving this letter from Berlin I went at once to the German Legation here, and as I told my story and my needs the eyes of the official filled with tears to find an Englishman wanting to help his suffering countrymen. I reassured him that there were in England and America many folks who were wanting to show practical sympathy and help.

Luckily I had received money from the wife of a naturalized German in London and the German Legation kindly sent some of the money by the courier to Berlin where my friend would receive it. The German colony here are arranging to send food parcels out and the Danish consul has told me of the noble work the people in Denmark are doing for the starving German brethren. All these signs of fellowship only strengthen those of us who work for peace and brotherhood. It is the want of knowledge that makes people callous and indifferent, and if only more and more Americans would visit Germany and Hungary they would realize the truth that unless something is done now the very foundations of modern culture will be shaken. Still the soul of a nation ever lives, and one can only hope and pray that out of the suffering and pain may be reborne a purified and noble Germany and Hungary. All those who have done relief work in central and eastern Europe must long to go and help Germany today, but I find there is a place to fill out here in Budapest. One's prayer and hope are that if the Foreign Loan comes, this will be the last winter that Hungary will suffer such poverty and dreariness, but truly there is need today.

Your letters to me are a fine tonic, full of genuine sympathy and heartfelt encouragement. Last week I received a long delayed letter full of good cheer and a donation from that good tried friend of Peace, Charles Dole. He enclosed some leaflets published by the association to abolish war and the one—"For the People"—contained one of his own spiritual utterances.

You know, Mr. Holmes, of the special kind of work I am doing out here, and of the difficulty of giving details, and I can only thank you for your letter telling you will do all you can to send monetary help for my Relief Work.

It is possible you will print this letter in UNITY and if so, I trust many readers will be moved to send along their mite to you. They may be assured it will go into channels they would approve of.

Since the war there is a tendency for society to be divided against itself into social, political, national or religious sets, but it has ever been the aim and purpose of my work to give regardless of race, class or religion, unless the money has been specially earmarked.

Apart from my Relief Work I try to show an interest in those societies which desire to restore the progressional and educational side of life, because since the war the moral and religious forces have been weakened.

I can only trust that the friends of UNITY and of the community church in New York will bear their part in carrying on the fund to which they subscribed so generously last year.

As I crossed one of the bridges spanning the Danube this evening and saw the city of Budapest enfolded under the surrounding hills, I thought of the poor and the needy, the sick and hungry, and then my thoughts went out to the German folks in their hour of trial, and I felt how happy those would be who out of their abundance can give to help a brother in need.

Then into my mind came that great anthem of the nations—truly a national anthem today—words so true in this fateful hour—how they impressed me—

"When wilt thou save the people,
Oh, God of mercy, when?
Not kings and lords, but nations,
Not thrones and crowns, but men,
Flowers of the heart, O God, are they,
Let them not pass like weeds away,
Let them not fade in sunless day,
God save the people."

FREDERICK HANKINSON.

*Relief Mission, Hotel Hungaria, Budapest, Hungary.*

specific demands as a natural extension of its fight for general amnesty. The listing of these demands in a rigid statistical row somehow detracts from the human content. Each of the points must be measured in terms of happiness and freedom and normal existence to the scores or the thousands affected. The following remains to be done to liquidate the Espionage Act and its satellite laws:

1. The dismissal of some forty cases under the Espionage and other laws—either indictments never brought to trial or cases pending on appeal. Until that is done, the possibility of new political prisoners in our federal penetentiaries will remain with us.

2. The restoration of the rights of citizenship to former political prisoners. Some two thousand persons are deprived of their right to vote and to hold public office because of convictions under war statutes punishing speech.

3. Cancellation of all conditions attached to the release of political prisoners. This applies to a few who have been paroled or released on terms which keep them under the supervision of the federal authorities.

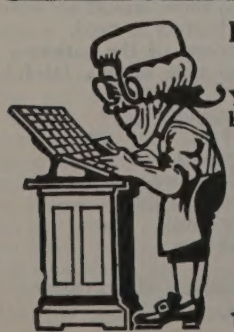
4. Cancellation of all orders of deportation of aliens made on the basis of conviction under the Espionage Act and similar laws.

It may be recalled that after the Civil War the rights of citizenship were restored to all political offenders, providing ample precedent for an executive order to the same effect now. A curious commentary on the strange ways of the law is that persons convicted by military courts, no matter how serious their crime, have not lost their rights of citizenship. Those who refused military service outright are therefore more considerately treated than those sentenced for the expression of opinion.

Both the imposition of conditions to the release of political prisoners and the issuing of deportation warrants did not affect all the prisoners. The discrimination is without warrant, as no special circumstances exist to justify it. Many of those forced to leave the country have been residents here most of their lives, and have their closest ties of family, friendship and work here.

This situation must be brought clearly before the attention of the country, for it will be necessary sooner or later to concentrate efforts upon clearing the whole record.

EUGENE LYONS.

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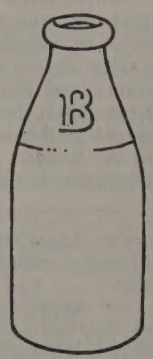

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